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DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

5 March 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR:	Philip C. Wilcox, Jr. Director, Israel and Arab-Israeli Affairs Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Department of State	
FROM:	Chief, Geography Division	25 X 1
SUBJECT:	Israeli West Bank Settlements: Measurement of Permanence Potential	25X1
Israeli settleme methodology, we	d is a memorandum concerning the permanence of nts on the West Bank. Using an imprecise have developed a simple index and quantified the ch settlement; resulting scores are presented in les and map.	25 X 1
2. The res	earch and analysis for the text were done by	25 X 1
	the Near East Branch,	25 X 1
Geography Division	on, Office of Global Issues.	25X1
3. If you please call me	have any questions concerning this memorandum,	
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Attachment	ank Cottlements. Massurement of	
Permanence Po		25 X 1
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SUBJECT: Israeli West Bank Settlements: Measurement of Permanence Potential (March 1985) OGI/GD/NE/ Distribution: Original - Addressee 1 - Barbara Bodine, State 1 - SA/DDCI 1 - Executive Director 1 - DDI 1 - DDI/PES 1 - NIO/NESA 1 - CPAS/ISS or CPAS/ILS 1 - D/NESA 1 - Ch/NESA 1 - Ch/NESA/AI 1 - Ch/NESA/AI/I

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Israeli West Bank Settlements: Measurement of Permanence Potential Summary

Any negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors on relinquishing occupied territory in exchange for a peace agreement would probably include consideration of razing at least some of Israel's West Bank settlements. Such negotiations would inevitably take into account the large variations among settlements, which range from small clusters of mobile homes to well-constructed urban neighborhoods with several thousand inhabitants. This study makes an initial attempt at examining the issue by presenting an index of settlement permanence, that is, a summation of factors that would be obstacles to settlement dismantlement. Using this index, we have divided the 184 settlements into four categories of "permanence." Almost 70 percent of the settlements fall into the lowest fifth of our scale. At least theoretically, these could be removed at relatively little cost and inconvenience.

This memorandum was prepared by

Geography Division, Office of Global Issues.

The information contained herein is updated to 1 February 1985.

Comments and questions may be addressed to Chief, Near East Branch, Geography Divison

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*158 residential West Bank settlements, 11 East Jerusalem neighborhoods. and 15 sites of other Jewish civilian land use. 25X1

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Permanence of Israeli West Bank Settlements

Many observers, both proponents and critics, maintain that Israeli West Bank settlements are now too numerous and too entrenched to permit their dismantlement, and that their continued expansion is an irreversible process. According to this argument, these settlements are distributed in such a way that no lines could be drawn to divide the territory without creating unacceptable Jewish enclaves.

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Examination of individual settlements, however, presents a different picture. Each settlement has unique demographic, construction, economic, historical, and locational characteristics that affect its potential permanence. Clearly, the many settlements that resemble small, hilltop, mobile home parks could be more easily removed or relinquished than the large apartment complexes around Jerusalem. If the less substantial settlements were dismantled, Israel probably would:

- Appease many local Arab landowners, each of whom, although concerned about the entire settlement scheme, is primarily interested in the fate of the particular settlement on his traditional village lands.
- Create much larger areas occupied solely by Arabs.
- Demonstrate willingness to negotiate in good faith with concerned parties.

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The obstacles to dismantling any given settlement can be roughly quantified. We developed a 0-100 scale of "permanence" (appendix A), with 0 denoting an insignificant degree of permanence and 100 denoting an extremely high degree. This scale considered structural, population, and historical/locational factors (tables 1 and 2).

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In the West Bank, 74 settlements (about 45 percent) fall below 10 on our scale. These include 30 unpopulated sites, of which 13 have experienced no construction beyond initial site and road clearance. These sites that scored below 10 account for only 7 percent of West Bank settler population, and would be by far the easiest to remove. Another 49 settlements, containing 16 percent of the area's population, fall between 10 and 20 on the scale. Removal of these two least significant groups of settlements would clear many of the hilltops in the heavily Arabpopulated areas of Samaria and Judaea.

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Settlements that scored over 20 on the scale are the sites with larger populations, more solid residences, and, in many cases, historic/strategic importance. Many of these settlements fall within areas of Labor's 1967 Allon Plan (Jordan Valley, 'Ezyon Bloc, East Jerusalem). About 15, however, are large bedroom communities established in Samaria by the Likud

government between 1977 and 1984. All of the East Jerusalem
neighborhoods scored above 40, as did 13 large settlements that
house 55 percent of the West Bank settlers.
Examination of the individual components of the settlement
network suggest that it is not necessarily too late for
territorial compromise based on dismantlement of at least some
settlements. Although dismantlement of settlements is an
emotionally charged, politically sensitive issue, at least half
of these "facts on the landscape" would probably present a
minimal physical impediment to a negotiated peace that calls for

their removal.

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Appendix A

Methodology	
Our 0-100 scale of permanence assigns equal weights to three characteristics of each settlement: structures, population, and historical/locational factors. A settlement's score for each characteristic was determined by summation of the weighted subcomponents. This total was then multiplied by a constant so that the maximum score possible for each section33.3corresponded to twice the average of all settlement scores in that section.	25 X 1
	23/1
The score for the first characteristic is based on a count of structures (both dwellings and nondwellings) weighted by size, type, and function (table 1). In counting agricultural and industrial buildings, some adjustments were made to account for the economic viability of the settlement.	25 X 1
Scores for the second third of the scalepopulationwere based on the number of adults in each settlement, weighted by ideological commitment of the settler group, when applicable. A "stubborness factor," providing greater weight to religious settlers and to Gush Emunim members, was applied, because of their greater ideological opposition to displacement. We counted only adults, noting that the number of children would have little role in the decisionmaking process.	25 X 1
The final section was a combination of five historical and locational elements important in any consideration of abandoning West Bank territory. Our scale awarded points to settlements if they were religiously significant, if they were established on pre-1948 Jewish-owned land, if they were set up before 1977 within the bounds of Labor's Allon Plan, and if they had military importance (location in the Jordan Valley or on the overlooking ridge). Finally, each site was assigned points that reflected its distance from the Israel-Jordan Armistice Line of 1949 (Green Line).	25X1
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The methodology used in this study is imprecise, but was designed for ease of data gathering and manipulation. We believe methodologies that might more precisely consider actual costs of dismantlement and other factors would essentially yield the same	

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results.

Table 1

Weighted Factors of Settlement Structural Types

Type of Structure	Weighted Factor
Residences	
Tent	. 25
Single prefab unit	.75
Small barracks	1.0
Mobile home	2.0
Large barracks	3.0
Double prefab unit	4.0
Townhouse	7.0
House	8.0
Duplex unit	8.0
Apartment unit	9.0
Other buildings	
Storage shed	• 5
Greenhouse	3.0
Garage	3.5
Warehouse	3.5
Small industrial building	4.5
Livestock building	5.0
Commercial building	7.0
Institutional building	8.0

Exceptionally large buildings (large industries, high schools, commercial complexes, etc.) received weights as high as 25.0. Buildings presently under construction received weights half that of their completed counterparts.

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Table 2

PERMANENCE SCORE FOR SETTLEMENTS

West Bank

	ements and Civilian Use (Type ^a)	Structures	Sub-Score Population	Historical/ Locational Factors	Total Score
1.	Abbir Ya'aqov	0	1	5	6
2.	Adam	1	1	6	8
3.	Adnim	0	0	9	9
4.	Adora (N)	0	1	6	7
5.	Adorah	1	1	5	7
6.	Alfe Menashe (U)	31	14	6	51
7.	Allon Shevut (RC)	18	33	19	70
8.	Almog (K)	3	2	11	17
9.	Almon (C)	1	3	9	13
10.	Argaman (M)	4	3	11	18
11.	Ari'el (U)	33	33	7	73
12.	Ari'el Ind. Site (I)	3	0	5	8
13.	'Ateret (C)	1	2	4	7
14.	'Ayn Fashkhah (RS)	0	0	3	3
15.	Barqan (C)	4	4	5	13
16.	Beqa'ot (M)	6	3	17	26
17.	Berakha (C)	3	3	9	15
18.	Bet Arye (C)	4	5	6	15
19.	Bet El (C)	9	21	7	37
20.	Bet El B (U)	7	10	7	24
21.	Bet Ha'Arava	1	1	11	13
22.	Bet Horon (C)	1	7	9	17
23.	Bet Horon B (C)	1	1	6	8
24.	Bet Yattir (M)	1	4	7	12
25.	Brosh (N)	0	2	7	9
26.	Canada Park (RS)	0	0	13	13
27.	Dani'el	1	3	6	10
28.	Dolev	2	2	5	9
29.	Efratah (U)	16	19	9	44
30.	El'azar (MS)	5	3	9	17
31.	El David (C)	1	3	5	9
32.	Elisha' (N)	1	1	4	6
33.	Elon More (C)	9	$\overline{14}$	13	36
34.	Elgana (U)	6	15	16	37
35.	Elgana C (C)	1	0	6	7
•				-	•

^aC-Community settlement, I-Industrial site, K-Kibbutz, M-Moshav, MS-Moshav shitufi, N-Nahal settlement, RC-Regional center, RS-Recreational site, U-Urban settlement, Y-Yeshiva.

	lements and Civilian		Sub-Score	Historical/	m
Land	3	Structures	Population	Locational Factors	Total Score
36.	Elqana D (C)	13	1	6	20
37.		2	5	5	12
38.	Eshkolot (N)	0	1	6	7
39.		0	0	7	7
40.		1	3	5	9
41.	, ,	0	1	5	6
42.	, ,	0	1	7	8
43.	· · ·	3	5	13	21
44.		0	1	7	8
45.		25	0	5	30
	Gittit (M)	5	3	9	17
47.		5	4	7	16
	Giv'at Levona	2	0	2	4
49.		33	10	5	48
50.		1	10	9	20
51. 52.	Giv'on Hadassa (C) Hakhlili	3	5	13	21
53.		1	0	5	6
54.	, ,	7	15	5	27
55.	Har Gilo (U)	7 7	5	16	28
56.	Hebron Jewish Quarter	1	5	13	25
50.	(and adjacent occupied	1	11	17	29
	buildings)				
57.	Hermesh	2	1	_	
58.	Hinnanit (C)	2	1 2	6	9
59.	Homesh (C)	2	3	6	10
60.	'Immanu'el (U)	33	25	4 8	9
61.	'Irit (N)	1	1	11	66
62.	Jordan Valley Monument (RS		Ō	9	13 9
63.	Jordan Valley Regional	ì	ì	9	11
	Council Offices		•	,	11
64.	Jordan Valley Service	1	0	9	10
	Center		•	-	10
65.	Karmel (MS)	1	2	9	12
66.	Kefar Adummim (C)	4	9	11	24
67.	Kefar 'Ezyon (K)	7	7	19	33
68.	Kefar Rut (M)	4	3	7	14
69.	Kefar Tappuah (C)	2	5	2	9
70.	Kokhav HaShahar (C)	3	7	16	26
71.	Lido Yehuda (I/RS)	l	0	17	18
72.	Ma'ale Adummim (U)	3 3	33	12	78
73.	Ma'ale 'Amos (C)	2	2	4	8
74.	Ma'ale Efrayim (U)	22	21	14	57
75.	Ma'ale Hever (C)	2	1	2	5
76.	Ma'ale Levona	1	1	3	5
77.	Ma'ale Shomeron (C)	3	4	5	12

Settl	ements and		Sub-Score	Historical/	
Other	Civilian			Locational	Total
Land	Use (Type ^a)	Structures	Population	Factors	Score
78.	Manoah (N)	1	1	4	6
79.		ī	i	9	6 11
80.		4	3	10	17
81.		1	ĩ	2	4
82.		2	3	7	12
83.		0	Ō	7	7
84.	Mehola (M)	8	5	18	31
85.	Mekhora (M)	5	3	15	23
86.	Menora	0	0	7	7
87.	Mevo Dotan (C)	2	5	9	16
88.	Mevo Horon (MS)	5	6	13	24
89.	Mezad	1	i	4	6
90.	Migdalim	ī	1	7	9
91.	Migdal 'Oz (K)	5	4	5	14
92.	Mikhmas (C)	1	5	15	21
93.	Mishor Adummim (RC)	3	3	18	24
94.	Mishor Adummim Industrial Center (I)	6	ō	18	24
95.	Mizpe Deragot (RS)	1	1	5	7
96.		3	2	12	17
97.	Mizpe Yeriho (C)	4	3	11	18
98.	Moshe Zar's Mansion	i	ì	5	7
99.	Mul Nevo (N)	1	2	4	7
100.	Na'ale (C)	2	7	6	15
101.	Na'ama (M)	ī	2	4	7
102.	Nablus Yeshiva (Y)	Õ	1	9	10
103.	Nahli'el	ĺ	0	5	5
104.	Negohot (N)	0	1	6	7
105.	Ne ot Adummim (C)	0	1	6	7
106.	Netafim (C)	ĺ	3	5	9
107.	Netiv HaGedud (M)	5	3	11	19
108.	Niran (K)	3	5	14	22
109.	Niriyya	0	Ō	5	5
110.	Nofim (C)	3	0	5	8
111.	North Dead Sea Solar Ponds (I)	0	ő	11	11
112.	'Ofarim (C)	:}	0	6	6
113.	'Ofra (C)	15	17	20	6 52
114.	'Omarim (C)	0	1	6	32 7
115.	Oranit (C)	5	0	7	
116.	'Otni'el (C)	ĺ	1	5	12
117.	Pelas (N)	1	1		7
118.	Pesagot (RC)	1	6	4 5	6
119.	Peza'el (M)	7	5	19	15
120.	Qalya (K)	3	5	19	31
121.	Qarne Shomeron (U)	12	24	11	26 47
	2 77	1 4	44	11	47

	lements and		Sub-Score	Historical/	
	r Civilian			Locational	
Land	Use (Type ^a)	Structures	Population	Factors	Total
122.	Qarne Shomeron Industrial Site (I)	3	0	5	Score 8
123.	Qarne Zur (M)	1	_		
124.	Qedumim (C)	1 13	0	5	6
125.	Qedumim Zefon (C)		31	13	57
126.	Qiryat Arba' (U)	1 33	3	4	8
127.	Rehan (MS)	3	33	17	83
128.	Rimmonim (C)	2	1	10	14
129.	Ro'i (M)	5	3	10	15
130.	Rosh Zurim (K)	6	5	13	23
131.	Rotem (N)	1	9	23	38
132.	Sal'it (M)	4	0	13	14
133.	Sa Nur	1	3	6	13
134.	Sha'are Tiqwa (U)	6	1	4	6
135.	Shadmot Mehola (MS)	3	0	6	12
136.	Shaqed (C)	2	3	13	19
137.	Shave Shomeron (C)	5	3	6	11
138.	Shilat (M)	5	9 3	7	21
139.	Shillo (C)	5		13	21
140.	Susya (M)	2	16	22	43
141.	Telem (MS)	1	2	9	13
142.	Tel Hayim	1	1	5	7
143.	Teqo'a (M)	5	0	2	3
144.	Tomer (M)	5	9	15	29
145.	Vered Yeriho (C)	3	4	10	19
146.	Yabboq (N)	3 1	3	10	16
147.	Yafit (M)	3	1	11	13
148.	Yaqin (N)	0	2 .	1	6
149.	Yaqqir (C)	2	0	4	4
150.	Yitav (K)	1	9	5	16
151.	Yizhar	1	3	15	19
152.	Yo'ezer (C)	1	1	3	5
153.	Zamarot	0	0	6	8
154.	Zofim	Ö	Ĭ	7	7
155.	Zohar (N)	0	0	6	6
156.	Zoref (N)	0	1	5	6
157.	Zori (N)	Ő	1	6	7
158.	Site, NE of Ari'el	ő	1	4	5
159.	Site, SE of Elgana	0	0	. 3	3
160.	Site, W of Elgana	0	0	5	5
161.	Site, SW of Har Gilo	0	0	6	6
162.	Site, S of Hermesh	0	0	7	7
163.	Site, adjacent to Kefar Rut	t 0	0	5	5
164.	Site, NW of Kefar Tappuah	0	0	7	7
165.	Site, W of Mevo Dotan	0	0	3	3
166.	Site, N of Qedumim (C)	0	0	5	5
167.	Site, SW of Yo'ezer	0	0	5	5
		U	0	6	6

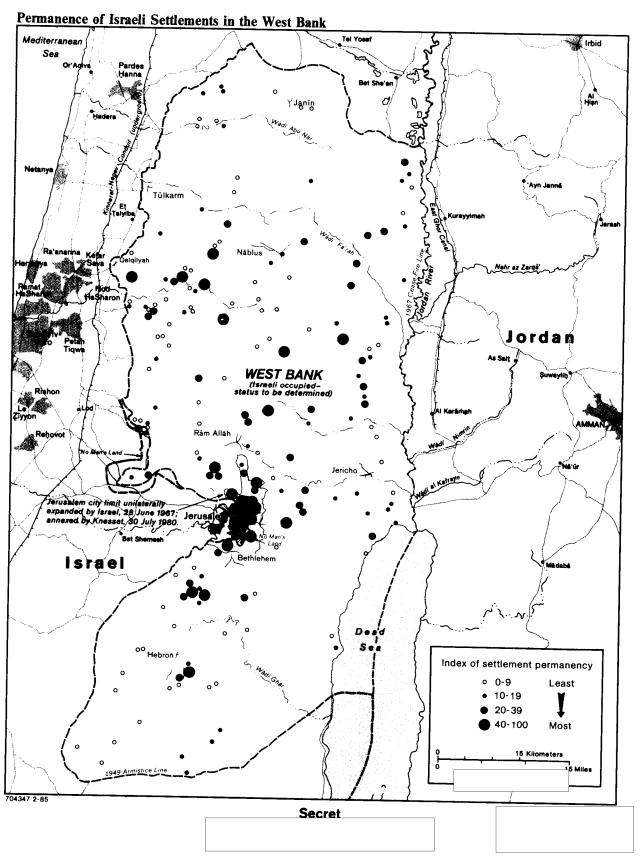
East Jerusalem Neighborhoods

Sub-	Score
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Urbai	n Neighborhoods	Sub-S	<u>Score</u>		
	Other			Historical/	
Activ	<u>vities</u>	Structures	Population	Locational Factors	Total Score
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.	'Atarot Industrial Zone East Talpiyot Gilo Giv'at HaMivtar (Ammunition Hill) Giv'at Shapira (French Hill) Government Office Building Hebrew University, Mount Scopus Hyatt Regency Hotel Jerusalem Airfield	6 33 33 33 33 35 15 9 17 2	0 33 33 33 33 0 33	19 13 20 13 13 13 7	25 79 86 79 79 22 70
10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.	Jewish Quarter Ma'alot Dafna Ministry of Justice Newe Ya'aqov Pisgat Ze'ev Ramat Eshkol Ramot Allon Sanhedriya Extension	33 33 2 33 33 33 33 16	0 33 33 0 33 0 33 33 25	12 27 13 13 19 6 17 13	15 93 79 15 85 39 83 79 58

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